

POLITICALLY EQUAL BUT STILL UNDERREPRESENTED: WOMEN AND LOCAL DEMOCRATIC POLITICS IN INDONESIA

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ABSTRACT

This research challenges the relevance of a change towards liberal democracy for gender equality. In particular, it connects the political logic of the survival and failure of incumbents in the direct election for local leaders (pilkada) with the acceptance of gender related considerations in local policies and women preferences in voting. By carrying out comparative assessments concerning the pilkada in four rural and urban districts in East Java, the study reveals that local democracy does not provide incentives which encourage the incumbents who run in re-election bids to promote better gendered policies during their terms in office due to women's ignorance in voting. Female voters were less critical in reviewing the incumbents' performance. Women were too busy receiving tangible policy outputs; they paid inadequate attention to the importance of strategic gender interests. Consequently, incumbents who perform better in reducing gender disparity often lose their posts. Worse, during local democratic contests, women were marginalised by the practices of male-dominated informal politics amongst the incumbents, informal actors and partisan bureaucrats. Also, the pilkada is not an easy race for women's candidacy, as the regulations do not affirm women and political parties hinge on pragmatic considerations that favour male candidates as having a better chance of winning in election. Moreover, this study challenges the arguments of decentralisation policy that have led to the negligence of local government concerning a gender-mainstreaming agenda. In fact, the decentralisation regulatory regime overwhelmingly controlled by the national government has restricted local governments from better addressing gender strategic needs. The national authority strictly determines local expenditure items, which do not incorporate gender mainstreaming approaches in local budgeting.

Keywords: Women and politics, gender equality, Indonesia election, democracy, women in democracy

INTRODUCTION

This article examines the contribution democracy can make to gender equality. In particular, it examines the direct election of local leaders (*pilkada*) in East Java, Indonesia. The article suggests that the relevance of democracy to gender equality requires further examination. A move towards liberal democracy in Indonesia with the implementation of the *pilkada* does not encourage district leaders to promote gender-aware policies. Instead of blaming local governments for impeding gender equality efforts, this article argues that decentralisation has created insufficient room for district governments to accommodate gender-aware policies. In addition, by utilising detailed case studies, the article concludes that informal politics related to the *pilkada*, which are male-dominated, have marginalised women actors as well as women's strategic interests.

To clearly outline the argument of the article, the next section briefly describes the case study design. Then, the following section asserts the potential effect of informal political practices dominated by the incumbents and other male actors on women's strategic interests. The examination of women's preferences and the factors shaping their voting preferences is then discussed to explain the logic of the incumbents' survival in terms of female voters' preferences. The final section explains the challenges and problematic implications for women's strategic interests of more democratic local politics with the implementation of the *pilkada*.

THE CASE STUDIES

This research is centred on the study of the incumbents' political survival or failure in the emerging local democracy in Indonesia, primarily in the *pilkada* at the district level. The study is based on case studies conducted in four rural and urban districts in East Java Province: Blitar Regency and Trenggalek Regency (rural districts) and Probolinggo Municipality and Madiun Municipality (urban districts). The analysis focuses on gender-related issues in the *pilkada* that occurred in 2010 in Blitar and Trenggalek and in 2008 in Probolinggo and Madiun.

This study applied qualitative research principles and *interpretivism* as the philosophical worldview (Creswell 2009: 18). The case study was utilised as the research method and involved "an exploration of event, activity and process of one or more individuals" (Stake in Creswell 2009: 13). In each district, this study interviewed (semi-structured interview) the incumbent district leader, heads of local government offices, NGO activists,

women activists, journalists, academics and female voters in two villages. The study asked voters what is taken into consideration when voting or not voting for the incumbent in a re-election bid. The study also collected data from official documents and local budgets (*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah* [APBD]) in four district governments.

Blitar Regency is located in the southern portion of the province. The regency had 1,116,010 people living in an area of 1,588.79 km² in 2010. Trenggalek is the regency located in the southern coastal area of East Java and covers an area of 1,261.40 km². Trenggalek's population is 674,521, comprising 334,769 males and 339,752 females. The majority of the population is Muslim, representing 99.25 percent of the regency's inhabitants (East Java Central Statistics Agency 2010: 22).

The first *pilkada* in Blitar Regency occurred in 2005. The official ballots counted on 4 December 2005 indicated that the candidate pair, Herry Noegroho and Arif Fuadi, had won the 2005 *pilkada* with 42.18 percent of the votes. Five years later, Herry Noegroho and his running mate in the 2005 *pilkada*, Arif Fuadi, ran separately in the 2010 *pilkada*. Herry urged a former senior bureaucrat, Rijanto, to run with him. Arif urged a local legislator, Heri Romadhon, to challenge the incumbent. In the 2010 race, which occurred on 9 November 2010, the incumbent, Herry Noegroho, was re-elected with 59.70 percent of the votes.

The *pilkada* in Trenggalek Regency was a unique race for democratic contenders because the battle was between two incumbents. In the first *pilkada* in 2005, the incumbent Soeharto¹ (2005–2010) defeated the former incumbent Mulyadi WR (2000–2005). In the second *pilkada* in 2010, the incumbent Soeharto was defeated by the former incumbent Mulyadi WR. In the *pilkada* held on 2 June 2010, the incumbent faced the former incumbent Mulyadi WR and the deputy regent and his running mate in the 2005 *pilkada*, Mahsun Ismail. Sadly, the incumbent garnered the fewest votes, only 22.4 percent (71,818). Mulyadi WR won the race with 174,656 votes (54.4 percent) (Trenggalek Election Commission 2010: 79).

Probolinggo is one of the nine municipalities in East Java Province located in the north coastal area of the eastern portion of the province. The population in the municipality was 226,643 in 2008 in a total area of 56,667 km². The majority of the population in the municipality is Muslim, totalling 96.08 percent in 2009. Madiun Municipality is located in the western portion of East Java and is surrounded by Madiun Regency, with a population of 201,619 people in 2008 living in an area of 33 km². The majority of the population is Muslim (88.78 percent).

Probolinggo and Madiun Municipality were two of the districts in East Java that held the last *pilkada* prior to the national legislative and

presidential elections in 2009.² Probolinggo and Madiun and three other municipalities in East Java held the first *pilkada* in 2008, paralleling the first *pilkada* for East Java governor. In the first *pilkada* in 2008, the mayor of Probolinggo, Buchori, ran as an incumbent with the former local secretary of the municipality, Bandyk Soetrisno. As the incumbent, Buchori was successful against two other pairs of challengers, Bayun Sarosa and Rr. Retno Suryandari, and Zulkifli Chalik and Yusuf Zainal Qubro. In the *pilkada*, which occurred on 30 October 2008, the incumbent Buchori received the most votes (72.55 percent).

In Madiun Municipality, the incumbent mayor Kokok Raya ran in the first *pilkada* in 2008 with Suparminto, the secretary of the local government. In the election, the incumbent competed against four pairs of contenders. Kokok Raya did not succeed in retaining his office. In the first *pilkada* conducted on 23 October 2008, Raya received 22,521 votes (25.69 percent). It was a crushing defeat for the incumbent; the winning challenger, Bambang Irianto, received the most votes, 53.51 percent (46,900 votes).

The specific cultural backgrounds of the three districts in the case studies, Blitar, Trenggalek and Madiun, have cultural features that are categorised as Java *mataraman* in the East Java Regional Division of Culture (Sutarto and Sudikan 2008). Or, in the regional diversity of Javanese culture, these regencies are included in the *Mancanagari* or "outer region." The features of *Mancanagari* culture are similar to the central Javanese court culture of Yogyakarta and Surakarta, which is characterised by syncretism in religious life, the unifying elements of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam. The folk culture and art in the three districts also favour the two centres of Javanese culture (Koentjaraningrat 1985: 21–22). Unlike these three districts, Probolinggo is categorised as a *pendalungan* (or *pandalungan* or *pendhalungan*) area (Rahardjo 2007; Yuswadi 2008). Amongst East Java's people and academics, *pendalungan* refers to a practice of cultural mixing or acculturation amongst ethnic groups, particularly between two dominant ethnic groups in East Java, Javanese and Madurese (Yuswadi 2008: 55). From a more multicultural perspective, *pendalungan* is defined as a meeting place of various communities with dissimilar ethnic backgrounds and cultures. In addition to Javanese and Madurese, Chinese, Arabs and Osing also live in *pendalungan* areas (Rahardjo 2007: 200–201).

MORE THAN WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The libertarian concept of political citizenship entails the right to vote and exercise political power (Marshall 1992: 8). In a more general sense, a

liberal perspective affirms equal citizenship that requires that every citizen have identical positions, rights and liberties under the principles of equal liberty and fair equality of opportunity (Rawls 2005: 97). As citizens, then, women have equal rights to men as electors and office holders.

The foundation for women's inclusion in Indonesian politics and government is in the 1945 Constitution. There is no single word in the constitution's text mentioning gender identity, such as male or female, to refer to Indonesian citizens. In the 37 articles and the preamble, the constitution specifically stipulates two articles on citizenship. Article 27 assures equal political citizenship in the country by asserting that all citizens have equal positions in law and government. Without specifying gender identity, the article also states that every citizen deserves decent employment and a good life. Article 28 stipulates that the state assures individual freedom of speech, thought, and a share in organisational life.

Four series of amendments to the constitution from 1999 to 2002 strengthened Indonesians' political citizenship. The constitution stipulates election as the primary mechanism to elect executive and legislative office holders at all levels of government.³ Every eligible citizen has the right to vote, the chance to compete in direct elections and equal opportunity to hold office in the government.

Following the amendments, the government and the House of Representatives (*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat* [DPR]) enacted several laws to better regulate political citizenship. Specifically for women, Law 22/2003 on Legislative Election (Article 65) required every eligible political party to nominate at least 30 percent female legislative candidates in the 2004 legislative election at national, provincial and district levels. Law 10/2008 on Legislative Election amended Law 22/2003, strengthening women's political citizenship in the 2009 legislative election. The law stipulates a quota of at least 30 percent women in posts on the political party's boards at the national level, a quota of at least 30 percent female legislator nominees at all levels and the implementation of a zipper system providing more chances for women to be elected. This is an affirmative system that requires eligible political parties to include at least one woman amongst the three candidates on the slate. Nevertheless, these affirmative actions are not followed in regulating the *pilkada*. Neither the government nor the DPR has indicated serious policy considerations to reduce the gender gap in executive positions at the provincial and local levels (Satriyo 2010: 243).

As in national policies, the affirmation of women's participation in local government is sufficiently strong. In 2000, the government, under Abdurrahman Wahid's administration, issued Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development. This instruction

orders all national government institutions, governors and district leaders, including the Army and police, to implement gender mainstreaming in planning, implementing, monitoring and evaluating national development. The instruction also provides a manual on gender mainstreaming. At the local level, Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government provides a similar affirmation. Article 26 stipulates that one of the duties of a deputy governor or deputy district head is to assist the governor or district head in the implementation of women's empowerment. The government then enacted government regulation No. 38/2007 on the devolution of authority between central and local governments. Articles 2 and 7 of the regulation stipulate that women's empowerment and child protection are compulsory delegated authorities to be implemented in provincial and district governments. Additionally, government Regulation No. 41/2007 on Local Government Organisation (Article 22) stipulates that provincial and district governments are required to establish an agency for women's empowerment and family planning.

Indonesia has had experience with female office holders at all levels of government. Indonesia's early government, under Amir Sjarifuddin's cabinet, appointed SK Trimurti, the first female cabinet official, to the post of Manpower Minister. At the local level, Indonesia has created better opportunities for all eligible citizens to run in the *pilkada* since 2005. According to the People's Voter Education Network's (*Jaringan Pendidikan Pemilih untuk Rakyat* [JPPR]) data base, 3.8 percent of candidates (134) who ran in 466 *pilkada* at the provincial and district levels from 2005 to 2008 were female. Of that number, one (3 percent) female candidate was elected as governor, and eight (1.7 percent) women candidates were elected as regents or mayors (Satriyo 2010: 245–246).

GENDER POLICY

The fact is, such equal citizenship is not a given for women. From the standpoint of inequality, particularly for women, Kabeer explains gender relations as aspects of social relations that may create and reproduce differences in women's and men's positions, particularly in institutional processes (decision-making) and outcomes (March et al. 1999: 108–109). The inequality of women is signified by five interrelated dimensions in social relations: rules (constraining official and unofficial norms), resources (distinct patterns of resource distribution), people (categories of individuals affecting production and distribution processes), activities (unfair division of tasks and activities in achieving institutional objectives) and power

(relations of authority and control) (Kabeer 2004: 281–283). To address gender inequality, women must be involved in decision-making, policy outputs and outcomes utilisation. Kabeer proposes empowerment or the ability to exercise choice to meet the abilities of women in tackling inequality. Empowerment has three interrelated dimensions: resources (enhancing the ability to exercise choice), agency (the ability to define one's goals and act upon them, or decision-making), and achievements (well-being outcomes to help people live the lives they want) (Kabeer 1999: 437–438).

To assess the effects of women's political citizenship, McDonagh measured state policies particularly affirming women's group differences associated with maternity issues and care work. The policies should provide privileges and protection to individuals because of their group differences (2002: 538–539). Furthermore, Kabeer specifically classifies three types of institutional gender policies in a social-relations, gender-based framework: gender-blind policies, gender-aware policies (gender-neutral policies and gender-specific policies), and gender-redistributive policies (March et al. 1999: 108–109).

Like Kabeer, Moser (1989, 1993) introduced another gender-sensitive lens to integrate gender planning into all development work in the third world. Women and men have different needs because they have dissimilar positions within households and different control over resources. In identifying planning needs, then, women have two different types of needs that should be accommodated in the development of long-term goals, practical needs and strategic gender needs. The former is "the needs women identify in their socially accepted roles in society." These needs are immediate necessities that help women perform their current activities, such as provision of water, health care and employment. To meet practical gender needs, the planning process must focus on the domestic arena, income-earning activities and community-level housing requirements and basic services. Strategic needs are "the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society." Having these needs met will allow women more say in transforming their subordinate status to men, such as by the recognition of legal rights, freedom from violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies (1993: 27–28; 37–40).

GENDER-RELATED DEVELOPMENT ACHIEVEMENTS

Considering the *pilkada* results in four districts, this study seeks to examine the relevance of gendered development achievements to the incumbents'

survival or failure in their re-election bids. The study begins with the examination of local development policies in each district, which are based on the district leaders' accountability reports (*Laporan Keterangan Pertanggungjawaban* or LKPJ) published at the end of their tenures.

To identify the specific development achievements for women in four districts, this study refers to the gender-related development index (GDI) and gender empowerment measure (GEM) published by the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Ministry of the Republic of Indonesia (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak [PPPA]). The GDI is the human development index (HDI) adjusted for gender inequality. The GEM examines women's participation in economic and political life and decision-making as the outcome of women's expanded capabilities, identified by the GDI (United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] 1995: 73). Indonesia began to measure the GDI and GEM (up to district level) in 2004.

The first term of the incumbent in Blitar Regency was from from 2006 to 2010. During the incumbent's administration, the regency limited its focus on gender differences to seven agendas for local development. Over five years, the Blitar Regency reported two types of gender-specific programs:⁴ the establishment of a counselling centre for women and children who were victims of domestic violence and a seminar on the promotion of gender mainstreaming in development (Noegroho 2010: IV–41).⁵ The other gender-related programs were not specifically based on gender differences. In the health sector, the government expanded health insurance for the poor (*Askeskin*).⁶ The government claimed to improve *Askeskin* coverage from 64,783 poor people in 2006 to 257,070 in 2010. This claim was not directly beneficial to women. The maternal mortality ratio (MMR) in the regency increased from 57.7 women per 100,000 live births in 2006 to 83.92 in 2010. Mothers in the regency also suffered from a decrease in the rate of childbirth assisted by medical professionals from 98.4 percent in 2006 to 66.40 percent in 2010. In addition, pregnant women's immunisation coverage decreased from 24.99 percent in 2006 to 14.83 percent in 2010.

The remainder of the programs, particularly in education and local economic development, are gender-blind. Blitar Regency did not distinguish between male and female in its programs. Gender-related constraints on women's ability to serve in government were not included in the program guidelines. To improve the mean years of schooling, for example, the incumbent's administration did not mention specific programs to improve female pupils' access to primary and intermediary education (Noegroho 2010). However, according to *Kementerian PPPA*, Blitar Regency has a good record in gender development achievement. As seen in Chart 1, the

regency's GDI increased by 1.44 points during the incumbent's term (2006–2010). During his term, the regency's GDI was also higher than the national and provincial indexes. Moreover, Chart 3 demonstrates a better achievement of the regency's GEM than the provincial and national indexes.

The incumbent in Trenggalek Regency pursued a similar pattern of institutional gender policies during his term (2006–2010). Under Soeharto's administration, local government implemented two programs, the improvement of gender participation and equality in development and institutional strengthening in gender and child mainstreaming. From 2006 to 2009, the government conducted two awareness-raising programs for gender mainstreaming for women, addressed 22 domestic violence cases, and conducted eight training sessions on gender participation and equality in 2007. The other gender-specific policy was a family planning program specifically focused on increasing the number of male participants. There was a slight increase in active male participants using contraception, from 900 participants in 2006 to 1,616 in 2009. These male participants represented 1.1 percent of 146,577 fertile couples in the regency in 2009 (Soeharto 2010).⁷

In the education sector, the incumbent reported that local government succeeded in improving access to pre-school, primary and elementary education. However, there were no specific education programs targeted for either men or women. For example, local government did not conduct gender-specific assessments of the downward trend in transition rates in elementary and intermediary education. Pupils pursuing their education after graduating from elementary education decreased from 96.7 percent in 2006 to 90.42 percent in 2009; pupils graduating from junior high school and pursuing their studies in senior high school decreased from 79.32 percent in 2006 to 76.64 percent in 2009. There were no gender-specific efforts by local governments to assess whether this declining transition rate affected more female than male pupils. With regard to female-specific health programs, local governments implemented maternity-related programs such as improving professional medical coverage to help with childbirth and visits to pregnant women. As in Blitar Regency, gender-related achievements in Trenggalek Regency improved when the incumbent held office. Chart 1 and Chart 2 demonstrate that there were improvements of 1.92 points on the GDI and 4.49 points on the GEM when the incumbent chaired the regency (2006–2010).

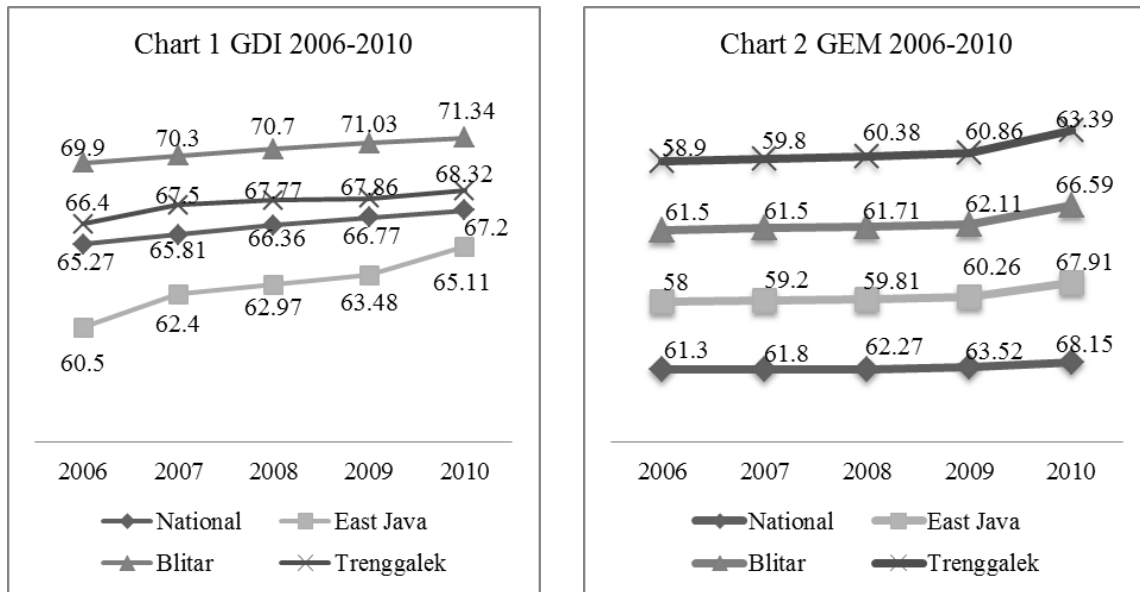


Chart 1 and 2: Comparison of GDI and GEM between Blitar and Trenggalek Regencies (source: *Kementerian PPPA*, 2013).

The government of the Probolinggo Municipality implemented similar approaches in gender-related development programs during the incumbent's first term (2004–2008). Based on the LKPJ, it appears that the majority of local development programs were gender-blind. Although local development policies cannot justify excluding women, the policies do not recognise the distinction between males and females. In the education sector, local government initiatives to disburse scholarships for poor pre-school, elementary, and intermediate school pupils and to subsidise elementary and junior high schools' operational costs did not consider gender differences. Programs that did not distinguish by gender were also implemented in labour participation improvement programs, cooperatives, small and medium enterprise programs, and trade and industry programs. In the health sector, of the 10 primary programs, local government addressed only one female-specific program in public health. The specific activity was maternity-related healthcare, specifically improved professional medical coverage to help with childbirth and for visits to pregnant women, particularly women with high-risk pregnancies (Buchori 2008).⁸

Moreover, Probolinggo Municipality implemented six women's empowerment programs between 2004 and 2008. Local government conducted three awareness-raising programs on gender equality and women, teenage and child empowerment. For example, in 2007, local government conducted awareness-raising programs on gender equality for 250 women, children and teenagers. The government spent Rp 158,586,000 (US\$ 10,397) on this activity. In 2008, the government spent Rp 67,480,000 (US\$

4,653.8) on a similar activity (Buchori 2008). During the incumbent's time in office, the municipality increased both the GDI and the GEM. Charts 3 and 4 show that the municipality's GDI and GEM increased by 4.31 points and 3.44 points, respectively, within five years.

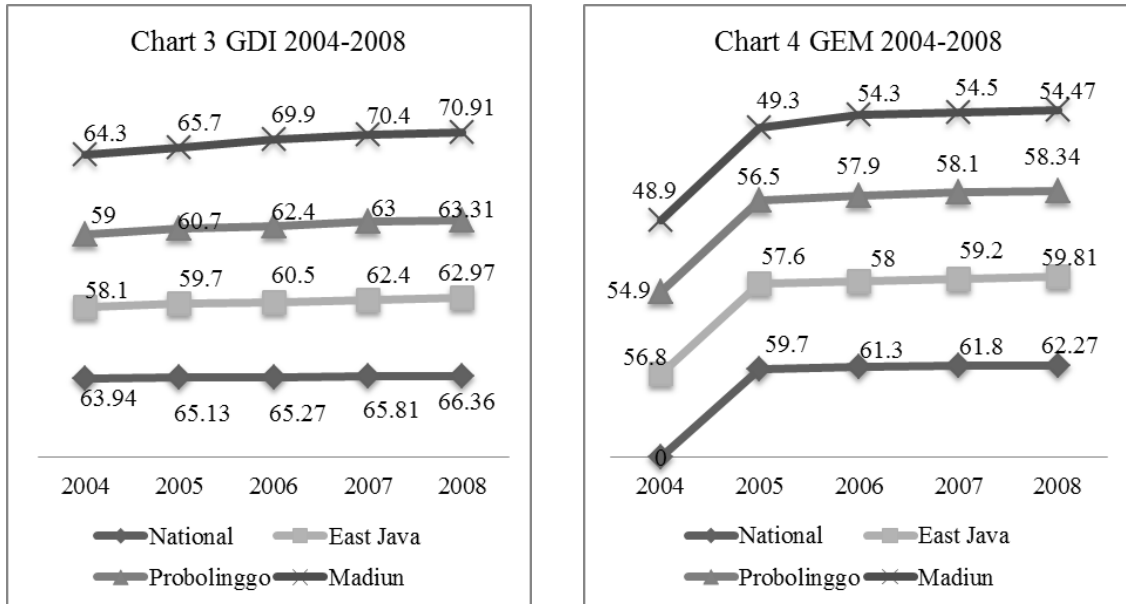


Chart 3 and 4: Comparison of GDI and GEM between Probolinggo and Madiun Municipalities (source: *Kementerian PPPA*, 2013).

As in Probolinggo, the government of Madiun Municipality implemented inadequate gender policies, particularly education, health and economic policies, when the incumbent held the mayoral office from 2004 to 2008. In the education sector, local government implemented two primary goals, the improvement of access to education and the quality of pre-school, primary and intermediate education. When achieving these goals, the distinction between the sexes was not assessed; thus, it is not known if there were policy biases favouring men. For example, to lower the dropout rate, local government disbursed subsidies to minimise the cost of elementary education in 2004 without allocating more for female pupils. A similar subsidy was disbursed in 2005 for elementary and junior high school pupils. Additionally, the government disbursed scholarships for elementary, junior and senior high school pupils. In the health sector, one of the two primary local development goals (2004–2008) was to reduce the infant mortality rate (IMR) and MMR. In 2004, local government implemented immunisation services for women in their fertile years and provided A vitamins for women during their confinement and iron tablets for pregnant women. In 2005, the government continued immunisation services for women in their fertile years. When improving participation in the labour force, no program

recognised a distinction between the sexes, particularly in job training and job placement programs. These gender-blind policies are also observed in cooperative, small, and medium enterprise advancement programs and small industry and trade empowerment programs (Raya 2008).⁹

Madiun Municipality set a female-specific policy goal to enhance gender equality. Local government provided operational grants for women's organisations (2004–2007), supported family welfare movement (*Pembinaan Kesejahteraan Keluarga* [PKK]) programs (2004–2007), conducted gender statistics and analysis training, published a gender profile book (2005–2006), disbursed disclosed reserves for itinerant female grocery merchants (2005), conducted management training and provided production equipment for micro businesses managed by women (2006–2007) and conducted training of trainers (ToT) for activists of integrated service centres for women and children's empowerment (*Pusat Pelayanan Terpadu Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Anak* [P2T-P2A]) (2006). The municipal government also established programs to raise awareness of domestic violence and P2T-P2A (2006) and programs to raise awareness of the need for women's and children's protection, gender justice and equality; implemented women's and children's health (*Kesehatan Ibu dan Anak* [KIA]) programs (2004, 2008); evaluated PKK's programs (2005–2007); conducted catering business training for beginners (2007); facilitated P2T-P2A establishment (2008); and conducted ToT for counsellors and assistance for domestic violence victims (2008) (Raya 2008: IV–93–IV–95). Furthermore, Madiun Municipality succeeded in enhancing gender-related development achievements during the incumbent's time in office (2004–2008). Charts 3 and 4 indicate that the municipality's GDI and GEM improved 6.61 points and 5.57 points, respectively, within this period.

Having examined all district development reports provided in the LKPJ, this study concludes that during the incumbents' administrations, no district governments implemented gender-mainstreaming policies in local developments. No gender-specific assessment or consideration in designing local development policies (gender-blind planning) occurred. Therefore, there is no specific recognition of distinctions between men and women in many areas of development policies, particularly in education and economic policies. The only gender-specific policies considering the practical needs of women were related to women's differences as child bearers, such as reproductive health programs. The other specific policies are the protection of women by domestic violence programs and the establishment of local organisations to assist women who are domestic violence victims.

All local governments also implemented "artificial" gender-redistributive policies by creating interventions to raise women's awareness

of gender equality and empowerment regarding promotion and training. Gender-redistributive policies were implemented sporadically, such as the disbursement of disclosed reserves and micro-business equipment for micro-businesswomen as individuals and groups. Thus, the effort to redistribute gender imbalance in development planning focused only on one sex (female) in its interventions. Moreover, all districts show gender disparities in development achievements (GDI relative to HDI).

During the incumbents' terms, the majority of local development programs related to women were created to address practical gender needs. The programs did not address the importance of disaggregating women's needs. The majority of programs and policies did not recognise the distinction between men and women and focused only on women's immediate necessities, not long-term goals. For example, there is no specific program to improve female pupils' participation in education. All districts conducted similar programs and policies in education. In the health sector, all districts provided reproductive and maternity health services. Moreover, local governments enabled the fulfilment of strategic gender needs. Local governments created programs that were intended to transform the power imbalance between men and women, such as becoming familiar with the need for women's empowerment, gender mainstreaming and addressing violence. All local governments established counselling centres for women and children who are domestic violence victims and/or integrated service centres for women and children's empowerment (*P2T-P2A*).

The evaluation of existing programs and policies in four districts demonstrates that local governments applied a mixed-policy approach to planning. Because the majority of programs aggregate women's and men's needs, local governments minimally applied empowerment and equity approaches to foster women's self-reliance and participation in program development. Governments emphasised welfare, anti-poverty and efficiency approaches by implementing programs focused on meeting women's practical gender needs, addressing women's poverty and harnessing women's economic contributions. For example, Blitar Regency delivered health insurance for the poor (*Askeskin*); Probolinggo Municipality and Trenggalek Regency improved professional medical coverage to help with childbirth and to visit pregnant women, particularly those experiencing high-risk pregnancies; Madiun Municipality provided immunisation services for women of fertile years, A vitamins for women in their confinement period, and iron tablets for pregnant women. The municipality also disbursed disclosed reserves for itinerant female grocery merchants, conducted management training, provided production equipment for micro

businesses managed by women and held catering business training for beginners, particularly for women.

This disadvantageous setting for women is in fact related to the decentralised regulatory regime. Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government and the two implementing regulations (government regulation No. 38/2007 and No. 41/2007) established women's empowerment as a component of the devolution.¹⁰ Then, to better meet practical and strategic gender needs, local governments implemented their delegated authority for women's empowerment as a gender-redistributive authority, not a gender mainstreaming of local development planning. In addition, the national government regulated local budgeting by issuing the Home Minister's Regulation No. 13/2006 on the Manual of Local Financial Management. The regulation determines local financial account codes and local expenditure classification codes based on local government's functions or delegated authority. The regulation does not employ gender mainstreaming or gender differences in local budgeting, but applies the principle of alignment and integration of state financial management. The gender-redistributive function is accommodated as one of the sub-functions of social protection. In addition, this regulation determines programs that can be created by local governments in five program divisions: programs of policy alignment of children's and women's quality improvement, institutional strengthening of gender and child mainstreaming, improving women's quality of life and protection, improving gender participation and equality in development, and institutional strengthening of gender and child mainstreaming.

Based on the examination of the LKPJ in all four districts, the incumbents and local governments complied with the Home Minister's Regulation No. 13/2006 from the 2007 fiscal year. Local government programs on gender equality and women's empowerment have followed program items determined in the regulation. This regulation in fact provided practical and knowledge-based, gender-difference program items. Nevertheless, the regulation has hindered local government from incorporating knowledge of gender differences to address gender disparity in all developmental sectors. Therefore, the decentralisation regulatory regime has directed local governments to implement a devolution-based approach to local development. Specific to gender-related development, this approach has allowed no room for local government to mainstream gender-aware policies in local development planning and budgeting. This regulatory regime is not consistent with Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development.

Another impediment to pursuing better gender-sensitive policies at the local level relates to the district heads' knowledge and awareness of gender differences and gender imbalance. To assess district heads' knowledge and awareness of gender-related development issues, three mid-term local development plans (*Rencana Pembangunan Jangka Menengah Daerah* [RPJMD]) in three districts were examined.¹¹ These documents were analysed because RPJMD are a translation of vision, missions and programs promised by district heads and deputy district heads in the *pilkada*. In addition, these RPJMD consider provincial and national development agendas and planning.

The 2006–2011 RPJMD of the Blitar Regency considered the low participation of women in decision-making and the increase in women and children trafficking cases. To address these problems, the incumbent and the local government initiated the development of local policies that are more sensitive to gender problems. However, local government did not address gender-specific considerations in all local development policies. The government instead chose to place the women's empowerment agenda partially within the scope of the social development agenda. The incumbent and local government then established partial local development programs focusing only on women, not a gender-balanced orientation. These programs established policy consistency related to the empowerment of women and children and improving women's quality of life and the protection of women (Blitar Regency 2006).

The 2006–2010 RPJMD of the Trenggalek Regency pursued a similar approach to gender-related issues. Over five years, the incumbent and local government established policies to improve women's roles. To implement this policy, local governments improved women's quality of life and protection programs, which were implemented in two areas, reinforcement of women's institutions and coordination of policies that improved women and children's quality of life (Trenggalek Regency 2006).

The 2004–2009 RPJMD of the Probolinggo Municipality did not mention gender or women in the incumbent's vision and mission for local development. Amongst four local development agendas, gender-specific differences were accommodated in the second agenda item of the local development focus number 8, emphasising the empowerment of youth, women and sports. To execute this development focus, local government implemented women's quality of life improvement and empowerment programs (Probolinggo Municipality 2005).

The examination of RPJMD in these three districts illustrates the poor and sectorial commitment of district heads to gender-related development and addressing gender differences. These district heads did not include any

specific development vision or mission to address gender disparity in the three crucial development sectors: education, health and the local economy. District leaders established local development planning artificially interpreting women's empowerment as activities to raise awareness. The district leaders and local government did not consider the gender imbalance between men and women in development planning and budgeting.

Table 1: Gender disparity and inequality.

	Rural Districts				Gender Disparity		Gender Inequality	
	B		T		B	T	B	T
	HDI	GDI	HDI	GDI				
2006	72.1	69.9	71.2	66.4	2.2	4.8	3.05%	6.74%
2007	72.28	70.3	71.68	67.5	1.98	4.18	2.74%	5.83%
2008	72.74	70.7	72.15	67.77	2.04	4.38	2.80%	6.07%
2009	73.22	71.03	72.72	67.86	2.19	4.86	2.99%	6.68%
2010	73.67	71.34	73.24	68.32	2.33	4.92	3.16%	6.72%
Average			–		2.15	4.63	2.95%	6.41%
Change (2006–2010)	1.57	1.44	2.04	1.92	0.13	0.12	0.11%	–0.02%

B = Blitar, T = Trenggalek

	Urban Districts				P	M	P	M
	P		M					
	HDI	GDI	HDI	GDI				
2005	71.3	60.7	73.9	65.7	10.6	8.2	14.87%	11.10%
2006	71.5	62.4	74.4	69.9	9.1	4.5	12.73%	6.05%
2007	72.76	63	75.42	70.4	9.76	5.02	13.41%	6.66%
2008	73.29	63.31	75.89	70.91	9.98	4.98	13.62%	6.56%
Average			–		8.86	4.12	12.45%	5.40%
Change (2005–2008)	9.42	4.31	13.69	6.61	–0.62	–3.22	–1.25%	–4.53%

P = Probolinggo, M = Madiun

Source: Kementerian PPPA 2013. These data were processed by the author.

Unfavourable regulatory decentralisation regimes and the incumbents' lack of awareness of gender differences and imbalance most likely sanctioned gender disparity and increased gender inequality in rural districts. As seen in Table 1, although the HDI and GDI increased in Blitar and Trenggalek, their gender disparities (HDI – GDI) also rose (0.13 points and 0.12 points) during the incumbents' terms (2006–2010). In Blitar, gender inequality ($(\text{HDI} - \text{GDI})/\text{HDI}$) also increased but decreased slightly in Trenggalek.

Conversely, a similar regulatory regime and uninformed gender leadership did not result in an increase in gender disparity and inequality in the two urban districts. Improvements in gender-related development achievements did occur in Probolinggo and Madiun, as indicated by the decline (minus points) of both gender disparity and inequality indexes.¹²

In these four districts, better gender-related development achievements did not support the incumbents' remaining in their offices. Table 1 shows that Blitar Regency, in which the incumbent won a landslide victory in the re-election bid and had greater gender disparity and less equality than Trenggalek Regency, in which the incumbent experienced a crushing defeat after his first term. In fact, Trenggalek Regency succeeded in reducing its gender disparity slightly and improving equality compared with the Blitar Regency. A similar situation occurred in the two urban districts. In Madiun Municipality, the incumbent experienced greater development achievements over four years (2005–2008) than Probolinggo Municipality, in which the incumbent won with a landslide victory. Madiun had a lower average of gender disparity and inequality indexes than Probolinggo (4.12 compared with 8.86 points and 5.40 compared with 12.45 percent) during the incumbents' periods in office. Moreover, Madiun decreased gender disparity and inequality more than Probolinggo. Madiun decreased gender disparity more than Probolinggo by 2.6 points and gender inequality by 3.28 points (2005–2008).

Overall, examining local development programs and the incumbents' platforms in these four districts indicates a lack of commitment to address gender differences and reorder gender imbalance. The incumbents in four districts had limited awareness of gender issues. Simultaneously, the decentralisation regulatory regime restricted local governments from incorporating specific considerations of gender differences and gender imbalance in local development planning, particularly in education and the local economy. Under decentralisation, the incumbents appeared to identify a legitimate manner in which to hide and avoid considering gender-related issues in local development. Indeed, gender-related development achievements were not relevant to the incumbents' survival in these four districts. In the next section, the examination of women's reasons for their preferences in the *pilkada* provides additional insight into the importance of gender-related issues in explaining the survival and failure of the incumbents.

INFORMAL POLITICAL MANOEUVRES

Although Law No. 12/2008 on Local Government¹³ allows individual candidates to run in the *pilkada*, political parties remain the most dominant players in selecting eligible candidates to run in the race. Parties establish certain attributes and resources for a nominee, such as being politically well-connected business people, bureaucrats and incumbent politicians. For women, these criteria are hard to fulfil because few women have the political networks, experience or wealth to secure the party's mandate (Satriyo 2010: 247–248). Case studies in four districts indicated that of the 13 pairs of candidates who ran in the *pilkada*, only one female candidate participated in the race and was the candidate for deputy mayor in the Probolinggo Municipality. In addition, the case studies indicate that a male-dominated local political arena is unfavourable to the majority of women at the grassroots level. By emphasising the exploration of the incumbents' informal networks and practices, the case studies revealed several informal political manoeuvres conducted by the incumbents prior to the *pilkada*.

Collusion between the incumbents and local businessmen is a most common practice. Local businessmen provide support (financial and non-financial) for the incumbent such as providing tactical funds to finance non-budgetary expenditures; providing funds for campaigns, distributing logistics independently on behalf of the incumbents, such as free groceries and shirts; providing amenities to support the incumbents' campaigns, such as banners; and providing transport to mobilise campaign participants. Additionally, businessmen actively promote the incumbents' worthy achievements in their neighbourhoods by such activities as shadow puppet shows (*wayangan*) attended by the incumbents and in communities in which they implement local government projects. In return, the incumbents and their staff make adjustments in local government project bidding, favouring these businessmen. Moreover, local businessmen and local government, including the incumbent, cooperate to actively lobby certain ministry officials and national legislators to allocate national projects in their regions (*nyenggek*).¹⁴

The incumbents also obtain assistance from local partisan bureaucrats. The bureaucrats evaluate previous policy performance and establish specific favoured local development policies to benefit the incumbents. The bureaucrats then have APBD finance some populist programs delivering direct benefits to people or village leaders and village sub-heads. These benefits include budget provisions for neighbourhood infrastructure, subsidised or free seeds for farmers, additional financial incentives for the majority of local bureaucrats, and service motorcycles for village and

hamlet leaders. The incumbents also secure the posts in local government of certain bureaucrats who are involved in policy-making.

Populist policies pursued by an incumbent are rewarded by those obtaining direct policy benefits. The incumbents' friendly policies in the Probolinggo Municipality delivered direct benefits to street vendors (*Pedagang Kaki Lima* [PKL]) and pedicab drivers. Local government provides several strategic locations in the municipality for PKL. Local government also allows pedicabs to operate in the municipality and provides several aids for pedicab drivers, such as free pedicab tyres and free groceries. When the incumbent was criticised over corruption issues, the PKL association and the pedicab drivers' association defended the incumbent by rallying against organisations publicising this issue. Local NGOs also defended the incumbent when local army officers, who should be neutral in the *pilkada*, sided with the contender. Meanwhile, the incumbent in the Blitar Regency made an informal agreement (Memorandum of Understanding [MoU]) with the Organisation of Pre-school Education Facilities (*Gabungan Organisasi Penyelenggara Taman Kanak-kanak Indonesia* [GOPTKI]) in the regency to obtain support for the *pilkada*. As a reward, every kindergarten under GOPTKI received operational grants after the *pilkada* (2011).

To secure their policy choices, the incumbents are supported by party colleagues in the local legislative body. Developing such support is not free. The incumbents barter for support by allocating budgets in the *APBD* to finance certain projects implemented in the legislators' constituencies. In addition to obtaining credit from constituents, legislators receive kickbacks from the local contractors who implement the projects. The majority of constituents demand infrastructure projects from the legislators. Conversely, poor relationships with local legislators meant that the incumbent in the Trenggalek Regency could not safeguard his populist policy of developing micro-industries based on modified cassava flour (*mocaf*).

The incumbents also utilise *APBD* as a policy instrument to expand their support amongst the grassroots, particularly local soccer club supporters. The incumbent in Blitar Regency fully supported the local soccer club (*Persatuan Sepakbola Blitar Indonesia* [PSBI]) by assigning *APBD* to finance PSBI's participation in the national soccer league. In 2009, local government allocated Rp 4 billion (US\$ 275,862.06) to support the club (Goal.com 2010). These amounts are more than double the local environmental affairs budget, which is Rp 1,943,456,836 (US\$ 134,031.5), or nearly double the local social affairs budget, which is Rp 2,604,493,404 (US\$ 179,200.04) in 2009.

The incumbents also attempted to win sympathy from local people by approaching *kiais* (Islamic religious leaders). The incumbents in Blitar, Trenggalek, and Probolinggo are known to have close relationships with *kiais*. The incumbents assumed that *kiais* could help them mobilise the *kiais'* followers to support the politicians. However, there was not sufficient academic evidence to corroborate transactional relationships between the incumbents and *kiais*, except in Probolinggo Municipality. *Kiais'* presence during the incumbent's campaign was publicly recognised by the local population. The incumbent also publicly admitted that he personally sponsored *kiai pesantren* (who chair an Islamic boarding school) and *kiai langgar* (who teach the Qur'an recitation in neighbourhoods) to make the *Umrah* and *Haj* pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca. The incumbent has sponsored 5–6 *kiais* annually to participate in *Umrah* and *Haj* since 2006.

The incumbents use other methods to secure local people's good will by attending community activities and making donations to religious and sporting activities. The incumbents generally use social aid funds to donate to these activities. However, the disbursement of these funds is primarily at the discretion of the incumbents, who disbursed grants to particular organisations, particularly large organisations.

The case studies in the four districts indicate a lack of involvement of women candidates in the *pilkada*. Women are rarely involved in the informal politics conducted by the incumbents. This study only reveals one woman's active involvement in Blitar, a female teacher who was also an Islamic female organisation activist involved in brokering informal agreements between the incumbent and GOPTKI prior to the *pilkada*. However, this woman did not attempt to strengthen gender-relations in local development planning; rather, she was involved in a transactional manoeuvre to obtain local budget support for all kindergartens in the regency after the incumbent was re-elected.

Furthermore, the case studies reveal that informal politics linked to the *pilkada* is a male-dominated arena and women must accept the losses from these practices. Men's political manoeuvres disregard women's interests; women are rarely involved in informal politics. The case study in Trenggalek Regency asserts that factional political conflict between the incumbent and local legislators, particularly from the National Awakening Party (*Fraksi Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa* [FPKB]) faction, neglected women's interests in local budgeting. For example, budget cutting for *mocaf* micro-industry development by local legislators marginalised women's opportunities to obtain income from the flourishing of these micro-industries. This conflict was triggered by the disappointment of PKB politicians over the implementation of the *mocaf* policy, which gave more

advantages to the Prosperous Justice Party (*Partai Keadilan Sejahtera* [PKS]) cadres. Indeed, PKB was the backbone of the incumbent in the 2005 *pilkada*. As reported by *Kompas* (national newspaper), the primary labour force in *mocaf* micro-industries is women who seek additional income for their families (*Kompas* 15 October 2010). Consequently, gender-blind policies are furthered by male-dominant informal political manoeuvres, discounting women's interests in local development.

WOMEN'S PREFERENCES IN THE *PILKADA*

The national population census calculated East Java's inhabitants to be 37,476,757 in 2010. Females composed 50.63 percent of the population. In the four districts in which the case studies were conducted, females composed 50.24 percent of 2,179,076 inhabitants. In the 2008 *pilkada* in Probolinggo and Madiun Municipality and the 2010 *pilkada* in Blitar and Trenggalek Regency, eligible female voters exceeded males. Female suffrage averages reached 51.14 percent in all districts (1,867,861 eligible voters). Female voters were also more active than men in participating in the *pilkada*, both in rural and urban districts. As seen in Table 2, the average female turnout in four districts was 34.57 percent of total voters. This average is 4.49 percent higher than the average male turnout.

Table 2: Female and male turnout in the *pilkada* in four districts.

	Σ Voters	Female voters (%)	Female turnout/ Female voters (%)	Male turnout/ Male voters (%)	Female turnout/ Total voters (%)	Male turnout/ Total voters (%)
Rural districts (2010)						
Blitar	994,939	50.29	58.05	53.20	29.19	26.45
Trenggalek	573,197	50.12	62.84	54.35	31.50	27.11
Urban districts (2008)						
Probolinggo	156,614	51.41	83.49	77.28	42.92	37.56
Madiun	143,111	52.76	65.69	61.84	34.66	29.22
Average		51.14	67.52	61.67	34.57	30.08

Source: The District General Election Commission of Blitar 2010; Trenggalek 2010; Probolinggo 2008; Madiun 2008.

The higher turnout of female voters indicates a more beneficial contribution of women to local democracy. The turnout indicates that women are not merely major stakeholders in local democracy but also active contributors to regular change in local leadership. This situation should normatively be understood by candidates who run in the *pilkada*, who should recognise

women's practical and strategic needs in local policies. However, the previous sections reveal that women are disregarded both in terms of national decentralisation policies and the local political arena. This section examines women's logic in voting both for the incumbents and the challengers in the four rural and urban districts in East Java. The explanation begins with women's recognition of the incumbents' populist policies during the periods the incumbents ruled the districts.

Female participants in both rural and urban districts could identify several popular policies credited to the incumbents during their first terms in office. Female participants in Blitar and Trenggalek Regency (rural districts) recognised and derived direct benefits from several local government policies and programs, particularly the rice-for-the-poor (*Raskin*),¹⁵ free seed distribution for farmers, inexpensive staple foodstuff (*sembako*) market programs, neighbourhood road construction, city market development, school operational assistance (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah* [BOS]),¹⁶ free or inexpensive health services at the community health centre (*puskesmas*), free immunisation for infants in the integrated health services posts (*posyandu*) at the neighbourhood level, accessible health services in local general hospitals (*Rumas Sakit Umum Daerah* [RSUD]), free health services for the poor (*jamkesmas*), and free childbirth care programs (*jampersal*).¹⁷ Particularly in Blitar and Trenggalek Regency, three female participants remarked that they were beneficiaries of women's savings and loans (*Simpan Pinjam Perempuan* [SPP]) under the National Program for People's Empowerment (*Program Nasional Pemberdayaan Masyarakat* [PNPM]) and the Urban Poverty Alleviation Program (*Program Peningkatan Kualitas Permukiman* [P2KP]). Of those programs, female participants could identify two female-specific programs: *jampersal* and the women's savings and loan programs under PNPM and P2KP. The participants testified that they benefitted directly from those programs. For example, a female participant in Blitar said that she received a soft micro-loan worth Rp 4 million (US\$ 275.86) from SPP PNPM to finance her chili farm. A female participant in Trenggalek reported receiving a similar loan worth Rp 2 million (US\$ 137.93) to operate her small café. However, neither woman knew that SPP PNPM is in fact a national program. Conversely, three female participants in Trenggalek criticised the incumbent's achievements. These women complained of poor health services in RSUD (local hospital) and *puskesmas*, fewer innovative local government programs, and poor infrastructure (roads and bridges), prompting protests from the local population.

However, the case studies also identified female participants who did not know or did not remember the incumbents' policies (ignorance). These

women did not know about local government programs because the women did not care about government, focusing only on their own livelihood and domestic matters. In a typical fashion, these female participants said that they spent more time in the kitchen or looking after their families.

Although the majority of participants recognised the incumbents' populist programs, their reason to vote or not to vote for the incumbents was not always directly related to the programs. First, female participants in these two rural districts adopted the practices of fitting in (*anut grubuyuk*) when voting. These women simply followed the majority opinion in their neighbourhoods in voting for the incumbents or the challengers. A female participant in Blitar Regency remarked clearly, in polite Javanese:

"Namung Nyoblos nomer kalih, soale katah sing nyoblos sing niku. Nggih kirangan, nyoblos nggih nyoblos."

(I only vote for number two (candidate), as many (others) are voting for him. I don't know, but yes I vote).¹⁸

Similarly, a female participant in Trenggalek Regency stated her reason to vote for the incumbent:

"Ya, saya ini cuma orang kecil, cuma ikut-ikut. Saya tidak tahu cuma ikut-ikut saja."

(Yes, I am only an ordinary person, just following on. I do not know, just following on [others]).¹⁹

Second, there are female participants in both regencies who did not know whom they voted for. These women had difficulty remembering their ballots because they focused more on their livelihoods. Third, a female participant in Blitar Regency admitted that she imitated her husband in voting for the challenger in the *pilkada*. In addition, the case studies identified two male participants who admitted that their wives voted the same as their husbands when deciding their preferences in the *pilkada*.

Fourth, female participants considered the incumbents' personal characteristics when voting. Humble, generous, and down-to-earth candidates were most favoured by female participants. Finally, female participants recognised and referred to the incumbents' achievements when deciding whom to vote or not vote for. Women considered the direct benefits of local government programs, such as cheap grocery market programs, neighbourhood infrastructure, free seeds, and the incumbent's

bequests to the people. In Trenggalek Regency, the case study also identified a female participant who did not vote in the *pilkada*. She argued that she was disappointed with the leaders' promises because both the incumbent and the challenger were inconsistent in keeping their promises.

Therefore, the various incumbents' popular programs did not always determine female voters' preferences, including female-specific programs related to their practical needs such as maternity care and women's savings and loan programs. In these two rural districts, female participants also considered the incumbent or the challenger's image, the majority opinion in their neighbourhoods, and their husband's preferences.

As in the two rural districts, female participants in Probolinggo and Madiun Municipalities recognised the incumbents' popular programs, namely school operational assistance (BOS) for elementary and junior high schools, inexpensive health services in *puskesmas*, free health services for the poor (*jamkesmas*),²⁰ good infrastructure at the municipal and neighbourhood levels, a friendly policy towards street vendors (PKL) and pedicab drivers, the rice-for-the-poor (*Raskin*),²¹ and the inexpensive food staple (*sembako*) market program. Three female participants in Probolinggo credited the incumbent with providing additional financial incentives for civil servants. Moreover, female participants in Probolinggo appreciated the incumbent for improving the city's cleanliness and gardens. In both urban districts, female participants shared similar perceptions concerning the incumbents' good personal characters. The incumbents were known as populist, humble, generous, and down-to-earth leaders. Both incumbents frequently performed *blusukan* (visiting community meeting points or community spots) and *takziah* (visiting, delivering condolences, and providing funeral aid) when they governed the municipality during their first terms. The case study in Madiun Municipality also identified two female participants who were not familiar with the incumbent's populist policies. These women did not pay much attention to local government-related matters. However, the women knew about the incumbent's reputation as a down-to-earth leader. Unlike in Blitar and Trenggalek, female participants in Probolinggo and Madiun Municipalities did not mention women-specific programs.

Female voters who voted for the incumbent in both urban districts referred to his ability to deliver tangible and direct benefits through local government policies. Female voters mentioned several programs specifically credited to the incumbents such as accessible education for primary and intermediate schools, inexpensive health services in *puskesmas*, good infrastructure at the neighbourhood level, and friendly policies for PKL and pedicab drivers. These women also admitted that they voted for the

incumbents because both men frequently distributed free groceries and made donations to community activities. Female participants also considered the incumbents to be good, humble, populist, generous, and down-to-earth leaders who performed *blusukan* and *takziah* to meet their people. In Probolinggo, the case study identified a female participant who followed her husband's decision to vote for the incumbent. She remarked, "*Suami saya ikut merah, saya ikut merah*" (My husband follows the red, I follow the red as well).²² In Probolinggo, the case study also identified a female participant who voted for the challenger. The participant said that she expected a new situation in the municipality if the challenger won and considered the challenger to be a good and generous person.²³

In Madiun Municipality, money politics (political bribery) shaped female participants' preferences in voting for the winning challenger. Six of nine female participants admitted that they received cash ranging from Rp 30 thousand to Rp 100 thousand (US\$ 2.06 to US\$ 6.90) per person. The women accepted this money from people who admitted being part of the winning challenger's camp, and their relatives received money from the same party. The participants voted for the winning challenger because they had received the cash. A female participant, a street vendor selling fruity ice, described her experience:

"Waktu pemilihan lalu ada yang beri uang. Ada yang Rp 30 ribu; ada yang Rp 50 ribu. Saya dapat Rp 50 ribu dari tim sukses Pak Bambang. Dulu satu rumah dapat 2 orang. Pagi dapat Rp 50 ribu; sore dapat Rp 50 ribu. Banyak di sini juga yang terima, kan dari Partai Demokrat."

(In the last election, someone gave me money. Some [residents] received Rp 30,000 (US\$ 2.06); some others [residents] received Rp 50,000 (US\$ 3.44). I got Rp 50,000 from Mr. Bambang's victorious team. A house received money for two people. I got Rp 50,000 in the morning; I also got Rp 50,000 in the afternoon. Many others [residents] in this neighbourhood received money as well; it was from [the] Democratic Party).²⁴

This participant also added that she voted for the winning challenger because she was obligated because of her choice to accept money from the winning challenger's camp. Another female participant, a female *rujak cingur*²⁵ seller, clearly explained her voting decision and the reason:

"Ya Pak Bambang lah yang ngasih uang itu. Nanti dosa, lurus saya. Saya tidak mau celometan, takut saya."

(Of course I voted for Mr. Bambang, who gave the money. It would be a sin [if I did not vote for him]. I am consistent. I do not want to be inconsistent; I am afraid).

She also added her reason:

"Alasan saya ya di kasih uang itu. Tidak berani saya arep gak milih. Saya dikasih itu, ya itu, soalnya saya orang bodoh."

(My reason is because I was given that money. I was scared if I did not vote [for Mr. Bambang]. I was given [the money]. I voted for him because I am a stupid person).²⁶

Unlike in Blitar and Trenggalek Regency, female participants in Probolinggo and Madiun Municipalities did not mention female-specific programs as much as the incumbents' popular policies. The women recognised policies that delivered direct and tangible outputs to all local people. The women also considered the incumbents' populist image during office. The policies and the incumbents' good image shaped female participants' preferences. Furthermore, political financial practices also persuaded the majority of female participants in Madiun Municipality to vote for the winning challenger. The participants argued that they were committed because of their decision to receive cash from the winning challenger's camp.

Overall, the case studies indicate that choosing to vote for the incumbents or the challengers in the *pilkada* was not gender-driven. Although the participants recognised several policies that pertained to women's practical needs, female voters did not include female-related issues among their reasons for their voting choices. Indeed, some women were victims of financial political practices, which could damage their futures.

CONCLUSION

Cross-national studies have concluded that democracy, which offers better opportunities for women to vote and hold office, and gender equality are mutually interrelated (Beer 2009: 225–226). Considering democracy and gender equality in the *pilkada*, however, this study identified somewhat

problematic implications. Better political citizenship is not automatically equal to better recognition and development outputs for women. The *pilkada* did not encourage the incumbents who ran in the re-election bids to promote gender-aware policies. Gender-issue ignorance amongst female voters is a disincentive to the incumbents to implement these policies. Consequently, less or more gender disparity in four districts was irrelevant to the incumbents' survival in the re-election bids. In fact, those incumbents who were more successful in reducing gender disparity were unsuccessful in retaining their posts. Gender-related local development is also hampered by a decentralised regulatory regime that restricts local governments from creating better gender-related development policies. Local governments do not have sufficient policy space to accommodate gender-aware policies because the Home Minister determines local development items and account codes that do not incorporate gender-mainstreaming approaches into local budgeting, particularly in education and local economic development.

The *pilkada* is not an easy race for women candidates. The amendment of the *pilkada* law does not ensure that more women will have the opportunity to participate as candidates in the *pilkada*. Political parties, the dominant players in choosing candidates, favour male candidates. Parties stress political calculations rather than gender equity in nominating candidates. Meanwhile, female candidates who have superior popularity, electability and financial resources are rare compared with male candidates. Thus, parties prefer men to run in the *pilkada* because the men have a better chance of winning.

Moreover, women are rarely involved in political manoeuvres linked to the *pilkada* arena. Male-dominated informal politics, primarily collusion between the incumbents and their informal supporters, have marginalised women in the *pilkada*. Simultaneously, female voters were less critical of the incumbents' performances during the time they governed the districts. Although the women recognised some popular policies, female voters paid more attention to policy outputs addressing practical gender needs with direct and tangible benefits rather than strategic needs. The case study in Madiun Municipality revealed that the majority of female participants' voting preferences were driven by cash disbursed by the winning challenger's camp. Accordingly, based on these case studies, women's preferences in the *pilkada* remain far from ideal in improving the quality of local democracy and furthering gender relations in local developments.

POST-CASE STUDIES AND POSTSCRIPT

On 26 October 2014, the DPR approved Law No. 22/2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors. After prolonged debate, the house finally approved the bill by the voting mechanism for indirect election (elected by local legislators) of governors, regents and mayors. Nevertheless, because of massive protests throughout the country, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, returned the right of the people to vote directly for their local leaders. The president issued the government regulation in lieu of Law (*Perppu*) No. 1/2014 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors on 2 October 2014 to invalidate this controversial law that revoked direct elections for regional heads. The president also issued the government regulation that replaced Law No. 2/2014 on the Revision of Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government that removes the authority of provincial and district legislators to vote for regional heads. This study stresses explanations based on the preceding law on the *pilkada* because the case study of the *pilkada* in this study occurred during the implementation of Law No. 32/2004 and Law No. 12/2008.

Two major amendments were enacted before and after the article submission that are worth mentioning although they do not directly relate to the case studies. First, the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) endorsed Law No. 1/2015 on the Election of Governors, Regents and Mayors, which was legalised on 2 February 2015. This law enacts *Perppu* No. 1/2014. Second, the DPR and the government enacted 117 amendments on Law No. 1/2015 by enacting Law No. 8/2015, legalised on 18 March 2015. Nevertheless, these laws do not specifically address the improvement of women's opportunities to compete in the *pilkada*.

NOTES

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- ¹ The incumbent has the identical name as the former Indonesian president Soeharto. Thus, the name Soeharto throughout this article refers to the former regent of Trenggalek (2005–2010).
- ² In 2009, there were no *pilkada* in the country because the general election commission (KPU), government, and the House of Representatives agreed to conduct legislative and presidential elections only.
- ³ National, provincial, and local legislators (DPR/DPRD); regional representative council (DPD); president; governor, district head.
- ⁴ The author of the report is Herry Noegroho, the incumbent regent of Blitar Regency (2006–2010).
- ⁵ Intended to meet targeted needs of women/men within the existing distribution of resources and responsibilities (March et al. 1999: 108–109).
- ⁶ *Asuransi kesehatan keluarga miskin (Askeskin)* was a national health care program for the poor implemented for three years (2005–2007). Health care facilities (community health centre or government owned hospitals or appointed private hospitals) provided free inpatient and outpatient services for *Askeskin*'s card holders. In 2008, the government launched *Jaminan Kesehatan Masyarakat (Jamkesmas)* to replace *Askeskin*. The replacement aimed to improve the quality, transparency and accountability of this free health care coverage.
- ⁷ The author of the report is Soeharto, the incumbent regent of Trenggalek Regency (2006–2010).
- ⁸ Report authored by M. Buchori, the mayor of Probolinggo Municipality.
- ⁹ Report authored by Kokok Raya, the Mayor of Madiun Municipality.
- ¹⁰ This law was amended by Law No. 23/2014 on Regional Government on 2 October 2014. The new law better addresses strategic gender needs by requiring provincial and district governments to incorporate strategic gender needs, such as establishing new provincial/local institutions for gender mainstreaming and empowerment and preventing violence against women and children.
- ¹¹ The author did not examine Madiun Municipality's RPJMD because no document was obtained during the fieldwork.
- ¹² The possible explanation for the opposite trend of gender disparity and inequality in these urban and rural districts refers to the comparison of per capita average local budget (APBD) expenditures on education and health in East Java. Urban districts allocated much higher amounts to education and health per person per year over five years (2006–2010) than rural districts. The average APBD allocation of urban districts, which was Rp 519,991 (US\$ 35.86) per resident per year on education, is 169.5 percent higher than in rural districts. In addition, urban districts' average allocation for health is triple that of rural districts. This budget trend was similar in the cases of Probolinggo and Madiun (urban districts) and Blitar and Trenggalek (rural districts). Over three years (2006–2008), the greater decrease in gender disparity and inequality in Madiun Municipality was possibly because of the higher average per capita allocation (28.3 percent greater) for education than in Probolinggo. However, the

average per capita allocation for health is 27.8 percent higher in Probolinggo than in Madiun. Furthermore, local budget allocations for education and health in Blitar and Trenggalek parallel gender disparity and inequality trends in both districts. Over five years (2006–2010), Blitar allocated lower budgets to education (22.2 percent lower) and health (30.8 percent lower) than occurred in Trenggalek. Although gender disparity and inequality in both regencies remained stable during that term, Trenggalek performed slightly better in reducing these gender-related development achievement gaps.

¹³ It amended articles on the *pilkada* in Law No. 32/2004 on Local Government.

¹⁴ *Nyenggek* is a Javanese verb. Its literal meaning is to pick fruit using a long piece of bamboo. The term *nyenggek* is an allegory of a verb meaning brokering activities between local businessmen, national legislators, and ministry officials. *Nyenggek* is the action of taking projects from the national government by bribing certain national legislators and certain ministry officials.

¹⁵ It is in fact a national government program.

¹⁶ Also a national government program.

¹⁷ The last two programs are attached to the national government.

¹⁸ Interview on 5 July 2012.

¹⁹ Interview on 18 September 2012.

²⁰ Both programs are attached to the national government.

²¹ Another national government program.

²² Interview on 31 October 2012. The red is a symbol of the nationalist-based party, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P).

²³ Interview on 31 October 2012

²⁴ Interview on 19 December 2012.

²⁵ *Rujak cingur* is a vegetable salad with cow's nose.

²⁶ Interview on 19 December 2012.

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